

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5277

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 GEORGETOWN 2189

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UN, GY

SUBJECT: PRE 32ND UNGA CONSULTATIONS: GUYANA

REF: STATE 205678

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING PRE-UNGA CONSULTATIONS SEPTEMBER 2, I
REVIEWED US POSITIONS ON ISSUES AND FONMIN WILLS PROVIDED
GOG PERSPECTIVE ON THEM. ON RHODESIA, GUYANA CONTINUES TO
SUPPORT PRINCIPLES IN THE LUSAKA MANEFESTO. WILLS BELIEVES
THAT BOTH NEGOTIATION AND MILITARY FORCE ARE NECESSARY TO
FORCE SMITH TO A SETTLEMENT. GUYANA WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING
KNOWINGLY THAT WOULD DISRUPT NEGOTIATIONS UNDERWAY CONCERNING
RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA, PROVIDED THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE
PROGRESSING. RHETORICAL ATTACKS, CALLS FOR EMBARGOES AND
DEMANDS FOR SOLIDARITY AGAINST APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA
CAN BE EXPECTED AT UNGA. HE HOPED US WOULD NOT APPEAR TO
USE THE ARGUMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE AS
A REASON FOR SOFT-PEDALING TOUGH MEASURES. GUYANA, HE SAID,
IS HAPPY WITH THE INITIATIVES THAT THE US HAS TAKEN IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA. HE COMMENDED AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S ROLE AND
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HIS PERCEPTION OF NIGERIA'S CENTRAL ROLE IN AFRICA. HE
BELIEVES THAT ISRAEL'S RECENT ACTIONS IN OCCUPIED TERRI-
TORIES WILL RESUSCITATE THE OLD ARGUMENT THAT ZIONISM
IS AN EXPANSIONIST DOCTRINE AND, THEREFORE, SHOULD BE
CONDEMNED. THE ISRAELI ACTIONS WILL MAKE IT MUCH MORE
DIFFICULT TO RESIST CALLS FOR RADICAL RESOLUTIONS. THE
USG SHOOULD NOT APPEAR TO BE YIELDING TO THE JEWISH LOBBY

IN DEFENSE OF BEGIN'S ACTIONS. GUYANA'S "LOCAL DETERMINANTS"--A RACIALLY DIVIDED SOCIETY WITH SEPARATIST TENDENCIES, POWERFUL NEIGHBORS CLAIMING PARTS OF GUYANA'S TERRITORY--WOULD AUTOMATICALLY INFLUENCE GOG POSITIONS ON THE TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY ISRAEL, AND ON CYPRUS, BELIZE AND EVENTS IN THE HORN OF AFRICA. WILLS ARGUED THAT THE US SHOULD TAKE THE INITIATIVE ON DISARMAMENT NOT ONLY IN ITS BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION BUT ALSO IN SETTING THE RULES AND CONDITIONS FOR A SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT AND EVEN A WORLD CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT UNDER UN AUSPICES. HE FEELS THAT US DIPLOMACY COULD OUTFLANK THE USSR ON DISARMAMENT JUST AS IT HAS DONE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THE SOVIET EMBASSY HERE HAS BEEN PUSHING THE IDEA OF A NON USE OF FORCE TREATY. THE GOG'S POSITION REMAINS UNCHANGED ON GUAM AND PUERTO RICO, I.E. SELF-DETERMINATION. WILLS PRAISED THE OPENNESS AND RESPECT FOR SMALL NATIONS REFLECTED IN US DIPLOMACY. HE CONGRATULATED THE US FOR THE MORAL LEADERSHIP EXEMPLIFIED IN ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. AS IN THE PAST, THE GOG WANTS TO SEE THE CONTINUATION OF THE CIEC AND THE ENERGY DIALOGS UNDER UN AUSPICES. GUYANA'S RECEPTIVITY TO US ARGUMENTS ON MULTIALTERAL ISSUES SHOULD BE GREATER THIS YEAR THAN IN THE PAST. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING TWO SESSION TOTALLING OVER FIVE HOURS ON SEPTEMBER 2 I DISCUSSED ISSUES OUTLINED REFTEL WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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FOREIGN MINISTER WILLS. WE SHALL HAVE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON INDIVIDUAL ISSUES AND PROBLEMS AS THE UNGA DRAWS CLOSER. WILLS' COMMENTS ON VARIOUS ISSUES ARE SUMMARIZED BELOW.

2. RHODESIA. GUYANA SUPPORTS THE LUSAKA MANIFESTO. BOTH OPTIONS--A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OR A SOLUTION BY MILITARY FORCE--HAVE POSSIBILITIES. HOWEVER, SMITH'S TRACK RECORD INDICATES HE WILL NOT YIELD EXCEPT TO FORCE. THE KEY TO SETTLEMENT IS WHO WILL CONTROL THE SECURITY AND MILITARY FORCES DURING A TRANSITION. GUYANA DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT THE TRANSITION CAN SUCCEED IF AN "ANTI-LIBERATION ETHOS" CONTINUES. WILLS ALSO QUESTIONED THE ABILITY OF THE GUERRILLAS TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER DURING A TRANSITION PERIOD. THEY WERE NOT ORGANIZED. IF AN EXTERNAL FORCE WERE TO BE BROUGHT IN THE OAU SHOULD FIRST ENDORSE IT.

3. NAMIBIA. WILLS OBSERVED THAT SWAPO LEADER NUJOMA HAD AGREED TO UN SUPERVISED ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, NUJOMA'S VACILLATION WAS A PROBLEM. HE TENDED TO REFLECT THE VIEWS OF THE LAST PERSON HE TALKED TO. WILLS SAID GUYANA WOULD NOT DELIBERATELY DO ANYTHING WHICH WOULD ADVERSELY EFFECT

THE NEGOTIATIONS; HOWEVER, HE QUESTIONED HOW THE GOG
WOULD BE ABLE TO DETERMINE IN ADVANCE WHETHER ANYTHING
THAT WAS SAID OR DONE AT THE UNGA WOULD ENDANGER THEM.

4. APARTHEID. WILLS SAID THAT WE COULD EXPECT THE USUAL
NOISES AT THE UNGA CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA. THERE PROBABLY
WOULD BE NEW CALLS FOR EMBARGOES AND DEMANDS FOR SOLIDARITY
IN DENYING ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. ATTEMPTS WOULD BE MADE
TO FIND WAYS OF APPLYING NEW PRESSURE. THE RESOLUTIONS
FROM LAGOS' ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE WOULD BE FOLLOWED
UP. WILLS STRESSED THAT THE UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT
PLACE ITSELF IN THE POSITION OF APPEARING TO ALLOW THE
STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICA LIMIT ITS ACTIONS.
THIS WOULD BRING USG CREDIBILITY INTO QUESTION. THERE
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SHOULD BE NO ATTEMPTS BY BRAZIL OR OTHERS TO FORM A
SOUTH ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

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5. GENERAL COMMENT ON US POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. WILLS
SAID GUYANA WAS HAPPY WITH RECENT US INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA. MORE COULD BE DONE BY ALL NATIONS. HE OBSERVED
THAT IN HIS VIEW THE SUM TOTAL OF KISSINGER'S INITIATIVES

ENDED UP BADLY FOR THE WEST. THE APPROACHES NOW BEING USED BY THE UNITED STATES RAISE HOPE AND EXPECTATIONS. HE COMPLEMENTED AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S PERCEPTION OF NIGERIA'S CENTRAL ROLE IN SOLVING AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

6. MIDDLE EAST. GUYANA'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY IS THAT ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM THE OCCUPIED LANDS, THE ARABS SHOULD ACCEPT ISRAEL'S CONTINUED EXISTENCE WITHIN LEGAL BORDERS, AND THE PALESTINIANS MUST HAVE A HOMELAND. WILLS SAID THAT GUYANA'S "LOCAL DETERMINANTS" WOULD ENTER IF QUESTIONS AROSE CONCERNING PARTITION OR YIELDING TO ISRAELI EXPANSIONISM BEYOND ITS LEGAL BORDERS (HE WAS REFERRING TO THE PRECEDENT THAT MIGHT BE ESTABLISHED FOR VENEZUELAN OR SURINAMESE ENCROACHMENT ON GUYANAESE TERRITORY).

7. ATTITUDE TOWARD ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. WILLS BECAME QUITE ANIMATED WHEN DISCUSSING THE IMPACT OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS OF PRIME MINISTER BEGIN. HE CHARACTERIZED THE NEW SETTLEMENTS AS EXPANSIONISM AND EMPHATICALLY SAID THAT SUCH ACTIONS COULD TRIGGER THE RADICAL NATIONS IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT TO RENEW EFFORTS TO EXPELL ISRAEL FROM THE UN.

8. GENEVA CONFERENCE. WILLS SAID GUYANA WOULD SUPPORT EFFORTS TOWARD CONVENING A GENEVA CONFERENCE AND WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING TO UPSET PROSPECTS FOR THE CONFERENCE. NOBODY WANTS ISRAEL TO BE WIPE OUT, BUT ISRAEL'S POSITION THAT ITS ACTIVITIES IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES ARE NON-NEGOTIABLE IS ARROGANCE. THE RECENT ACTIONS CONSTITUTE AGGRESSION AND HAVE CAUSED VERY SHARP REACTIONS. GUYANA CANNOT CONDONE SUCH AGGRESSION. THE UNITED STATES AND AMBASSADOR YOUNG SHOULD NOT TAKE THE MIDDLE EAST ISSUE LIGHTLY DURING THIS SESSION OF THE UNGA.

9. ZIONISM AS RACISM. WILLS COMPARED THE PRESENT SITUATION WITH THAT WHICH HAD EMERGED IN 1975 WHEN STRONG EMOTIONS HAD BEEN AROUSED AND THE "ZIONISM AS RACISM" THEME HAD PREVAILED. AT THAT TIME, EXPANSIONISM HAD BEEN IDENTIFIED AS A CHARACTERISTIC OF ZIONISM. WILLS CLAIMED THAT GUYANA HAD PLAYED A MEDIATING ROLE IN 1975 WHICH HAD PREVENTED EVEN HARSHER RESOLUTIONS FROM GETTING ADOPTED AT THE LIMA NAM. HE LAMENTED THAT THE USG HAD NOT UNDERSTOOD OR APPRECIATED GUYANA'S ROLE.

10. THE RIVIVAL OF THE "ZIONISM AS RACISM" THEME WOULD REQUIRE STRENUOUS BEHIND THE SCENES EFFORTS AND TRADE-OFFS TO PREVENT UNREASONABLE RESOLUTIONS FROM BEING PASSED. WILLS HOPED THAT THE USG WOULD NOT

APPEAR TO BE YIELDING TO PRESSURES FROM THE JEWISH LOBBLY BY
DEFENDING BEGIN'S ACTIONS. IF THIS WERE DONE THE CREDIBI-
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LITY OF THE US WOULD BE WEAKENED AND, IN THE LONG RUN,
ISAAEL'S POSITION WOULD BE DAMAGED.

11. DISARMAMENT. ANOTHER ISSUE WHICH EXCITES AND AGITATES
WILLS IS THAT OF DISARMAMENT. WILLS EXPRESSES CONCERN THAT
"EUROPEAN PROBLEMS" (HIS CODE WORDS FOR EAST-WEST
CONFRONTATION) MIGHT AGAIN EMBROIL THE WORLD IN A WORLD
WAR AS HAPPENED TWICE IN THE PAST. SINCE ALL NATIONS WOULD
SUFFER, HE BELIEVES THAT ALL SHOULD BE ABLE TO PARTICIPATE
IN EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE DISARMAMENT. IT SHOULD NOT BE LEFT
SOLELY TO MAJOR POWERS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT BILATERAL
NEGOTIATIONS AND CONSULATIONS WERE NECESSARY, BUT ARGUED
THAT, IN ADDITION, A WORLD CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT
SHOULD BE HELD UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES.

12. HE URGED THAT THE UNITED STATES GET OUT IN FRONT
ON THE DISARMAMENT ISSUE AS IT HAD ON HUMAN RIGHTS. IN
THIS WAY IT COULD DEFINE THE PROCEDURES AND FRAMEWORK.
NOW THE US WAS LEAVING INITIATIVES TO THE RUSSIANS WHO
WERE WINNING A PROPAGANDA BATTLE WITH SUCH THINGS
AS THE STOCKHOLM APPEAL. NEVERTHELESS, HE SAID HE WAS
PERSONALLY PLEASED WITH THE APPROACH THAT PRESIDENT CARTER
HAD MADE TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND THAT THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE
SHOWN UP FOR WHAT THEY ARE. HE RECOGNIZED THAT GUYANA
AND OTHER NATIONS IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE ARE UNDER
"YOUR UMBRELLA."

13. SPECIFICALLY REFERRING TO THE SPECIAL SESSION ON
DISARMAMENT, HE URGED THAT THE UNITED STATES TAKE THE
INITIATIVE AND SET THE GROUND RULES. ACCUSATIONS ABOUT
WHO WAS MORE GUILTY THAN WHO SHOULD NOT BE HURLED BACK
AND FORTH. THE TONE OF THE APPROACH WILL BE EXTREMELY
IMPORTANT FOR BOTH PUBLIC RELATIONS AND SUBSTANTIVE REASONS.

14. NON-USE OF FORCE. AFTER I HAD OUTLINED THE US
POSITION ON NUF, WILLS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THE SOVIET
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EMBASSY HAD BEEN CONDUCTING INTENSIVE LOBBYING IN FAVOR
OF A NON-USE OF FORCE TREATY. WILLS FELT THAT THE ARGU-
MENTS I USED AGAINST THE TREATY (THE TALKING POINTS IN
REFTEL) WERE UNCONVINCING. NOTE: IF THE DEPARTMENT HAS

MORE ARGUMENTS FOR USE ON THIS TOPIC, I WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING THEM.

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15. CYPRUS. WILLS HAD NO COMMENT ON THE US POSITION AS OUTLINED IN THE TALKING POINTS. HE MERELY SAID THAT GUYANA WILL FOLLOW THE POSITIONS ADOPTED AT THE NON-ALIGNED CONFERENCE AND WOULD OPPOSE ANY PARTITION OF CYPRUS. HE RECOGNIZED THAT TURKEY AND GREECE AND CYPRUS WERE PART OF THE UNDERBELLY OF NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT. THE SOLUTION, HE SAID, WOULD REST IN SPELLING OUT OVERALL RELATIONSHIPS IN THE AREA.

16. CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFERS. WILLS SAID HE HAD NO PROBLEMS WITH THE US POSITIONS ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS SALES. HE OPINED, HOWEVER, THAT THE EXISTENCE OF "A GUN LOBBY" IN THE UNITED STATES WOULD MAKE IT POLITICALLY DIFFICULT FOR THE US TO REDUCE ARMS PRODUCTION IN GENERAL.

17. PUERTO RICO. WILLS PLEDGED TO DO HIS BEST TO KEEP GUYANA WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF US POLICY ON PUERTO RICO. HE SAID GUYANA AGREED WITH PRESIDENT CARTER'S POSITION THAT THE MAJORITY CAN HAVE WHATEVER STATUS THEY WISH. I REITERATED THAT THE US FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE ISSUE IS NOT ONE WITH WHICH THE UN OUGHT TO CONCERN ITSELF.
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18. GUAM. GUYANA WOULD HAVE "NO DISPUTE WITH THE POLITICAL DECISIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF GUAM" AND GUYANA RECOGNIZED THAT AT THE PRESENT THIS MEANT THEY WISHED TO HAVE UNITED STATES MILITARY BASES ON GUAM.

19. KOREA. FOREIGN MINISTER WILLS SAID THAT THE NORTH KOREAN VICE MINISTER WHO HAD VISITED GUYANA TO ATTEND THE PEOPLE'S NATIONAL CONGRESS SECOND BIENNIAL CONGRESS HAD SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND TO PUT THE KOREA ISSUE BEFORE THE US THIS YEAR, BUT NORTH KOREA INTENDS TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO KEEP SOUTH KOREA OUT OF THE UNITED NATIONS.

20. US DIPLOMACY. WILLS PRAISED THE MANNER AND TONE REFLECTED IN THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY. HE LIKED ESPECIALLY THE "OPENNESS" AND THE PRACTICE OF CARRYING ON CONSULTATIONS, EVEN WITH SMALL COUNTRIES. THE PRESENT USG ATTITUDE, PLUS THE PANAMA TREATY WAS "STERLING PROOF THAT EVEN WITH SMALLER POWERS THE UNITED STATES RESPECTS THEIR DIGNITY."

21. HUMAN RIGHTS. WILLS COMMENTED THAT THE UNITED STATES IS TO BE CONGRATULATED BECAUSE OF THE MORAL LEADERSHIP IT WAS EXERCISING IN THE WORLD THROUGH ITS HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. HE RESPECTED THIS DEEPLY, HE SAID. THE NEAREST THING THE WORLD HAD SEEN PREVIOUSLY TO THE CURRENT HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORTS WAS THE ATLANTIC CHARTER, BUT THAT HAD PROVED INADEQUATE WHEN FACED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ALSO, IT TENDED TO PUT THE ISSUES OF FREEDOM FOR PEOPLES BEHIND ARTIFICIAL NATIONAL BARRIERS. THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN JUMPS OVER FRONTIERS AND GOES DIRECTLY TO THE PEOPLE. GUYANA WOULD

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FAVOR CREATING A UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS. THE PRESENT SETUP LEFT MUCH TO BE DESIRED.

22. DECADE AGAINST RACISM. IN DISCUSSING THE DECADE AGAINST RACISM, WILLS AGAIN REFERRED BACK TO THE FACT THAT ISRAEL'S ACTIONS AT THE MOMENT WOULD TEND TO CONFUSE ISSUES FURTHER AND MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE ZIONISM FROM RACISM. HE WAS NON-COMMITTAL CONCERNING WHETHER GUYANA WOULD WORK TO SEPARATE ZIONISM FROM RACISM.

23. TORTURE. GUYANA WOULD CONDEMN TORTURE WHERE IT EXISTED AND FELT THAT THE IDEA OF OBTAINING GENERAL ASSEMBLY ACTION

ON AN EFFECTIVE MECHANISM TO DEAL WITH THE PROBLEM OF TORTURE WAS A GOOD ONE.

24. UN MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET. I REVIEWED THE TALKING POINTS UNDER THIS SECTION, HOWEVER, WILLS IMMEDIATELY BECAME BORED WHEN TALKING OF THESE SUBJECTS. HE SAID HE WOULD LEAVE GUYANA'S TACTICS ON BUDGETS, RESTRUCTURING OF THE UN TO HIS PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE IN NEW YORK. I RECOMMEND THAT USUN APPROACH AMBASSADOR JACKSON ON THIS. WILLS EXPRESSED SYMPATHY WITH THE IDEA OF CUTTING DOWN ON THE NUMBER OF UN CONFERENCES AND CONTROLLING UN SALARIES.

25. ECONOMIC ISSUES. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING THAT SOME PROGRESS WAS MADE WITHIN THE CIEC, WILLS REMAINED INSISTENT THT SUCH DISCUSSIONS SHOULD TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS SYSTEM. HE WOULD SUPPORT THE CREATION OF A SMALL BODY (I.E. A SUBCOMMITTEE OR SPECIAL COMMITTEE), ESTABLISHED UNDER UN AUSPICES FOR CONTINUATION OF THE DIALOG ON ISSUES AT CIEC INCLUDING ENERGY. HE BELIEVED THE UNITED STATES WAS STILL AFRAID OF THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY WITH THE OPEC COUNTRIES. HE ADMITTED THAT THE POORER LDCS HAVE AMBIGUOUS POSITIONS VIS-A-VIS OPEC. WHILE THEY ENDORSE THE PRINCIPLE OF HAVING PRODUCER ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS OPEC, THEY SUFFER

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MORE THAN THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES FROM THE EFFECTS OF THE HIKES IN OIL PRICES. THEY WOULD END UP OPPOSING MEASURES AIMED AT INCREASING OIL PRICES.

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26. COMMENTS ON LDC STRATEGY. WITH REPECT TO THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOG WILLS SAID THAT THE LDCS RESERVE THE RIGHT TO SPEAK RHETORICALLY TO CONVINCE THE PEOPLE OF DEVELOPED COUNTRIES OF THE NECESSITY FOR CAPITAL TRANSFERS AND BETTER TRADING CONDITIONS. HE FEELS STRONGLY THAT THE URGENCY OF THE POVERTY PROBLEM FACING THE WORLD HAS NOT BEEN APPRECIATED SUFFICIENTLY BY THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. GUYANA WILL SPEAK OUT TO THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND THE SOVIET UNION AND TELL THEM THAT THEY SHOULD DROP THEIR EXCUSE THAT THEY HAVE NO HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE UNDERDEVELOPED STATUS OF LDCS. GUYANA'S POSITION WAS THAT A NEED EXISTS AND ALL DEVELOPED NATIONS SHOULD HELP.

27. UNITED STATES' AWARENESS OF THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS OF LDCS HAS GROWN APPRECIABLY. GUYANA HAS NO BASIC QUARREL WITH THE UNITED STATES WITH RESPECT TO THIS AT THE PRESENT TIME. THE QUARREL IN THE PAST WITH KISSINGER WAS IN TERMS OF THE PROPOSED REMEDIES. WILLS ALLEGED THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER CAME OUT WITH PROPOSALS WHICH WERE ESSENTIALLY OLD WINE IN NEW BOTTLES AND HE SPRUNG
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THEM ON CONFERENCES AS SURPRISES. THIS COULD NOT HAVE BEEN INTENDED TO BRING CONSTRUCTIVE DEBATE OR COLLABORATION.

28. POVERTY. A DISCUSSION OF POVERTY WILL DOMINATE THE NEXT DECADE. IF DEMOCRACY IS GOING TO SURVIVE, THE QUESTION OF POVERTY MUST BE DEALT WITH. POVERTY IS THE SINGLE GREATEST THREAT TO DEMOCRACY IN THE WORLD TODAY.

29. WILLS TOUCHED ON TWO ISSUES WHICH WERE NOT DEALT WITH IN REFTTEL. THESE WERE BELIZE AND THE HORN OF AFRICA. FOR THE GOG BELIZE IS IMPORTANT BECAUSE OF ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR GUYANA. WILLS WOULD LIKE TO SEE A SOLUTION WHICH DID NOT INVOLVE PARTITION. AS FOR GUYANA'S ATTITUDE ON THE HORN OF AFRICA, PARTICULARLY THE DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA, GUYANA HAD SOME SYMPATHY WITH ETHIOPIA BECAUSE SOMALIA WAS ATTEMPTING TO TAKE LAND WITHIN ESTABLISHED BORDERS. HOWEVER, GUYANA'S POLICY WOULD BE INFLUENCED BY THE ATTITUDE THAT THE OAU ADOPTS.

30. GENERAL COMMENT. I CONSIDER THIS REVIEW WITH WILLS

OF MULTILATERAL ISSUES TO BE ONLY THE BEGINNING OF
CONSULTATION. HE HAS OUTLINED GUYANA'S POSITION AS IT
IS AT THE MOMENT ON THESE ISSUES. IF SUBJECTED TO INTENSE
LOBBYING BY OURSELVES OR OTHERS, INCLUDING THE SOVIET
UNION, GUYANA'S POSITION ON CERTAIN ISSUES MIGHT BE SHIFTED.
I HAVE IN MIND PARTICULARLY THE POSITION DESCRIBED ABOVE
ON NON-USE OF FORCE. WILLS ALLOWS EMOTION TO EFFECT
HIS VIEWS ON SUCH ISSUES AS APARTHEID AND THE "EXPANSIONIST"
ACTIVITIES OF ISRAEL. ESSENTIALLY, HE FAVORS THE UNITED
STATES' POSITION AND IS NOT ANTI-ISRAEL. HOWEVER, HE
FEELS VERY DEEPLY THAT ISRAEL IS BEING ITS OWN WORST
ENEMY IN THIS MATTER, AND THAT IF THE UNITED STATES
DOES NOT MAKE CLEAR ITS DISAGREEMENT WITH ISRAEL ON
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CERTAIN ASPECTS OF ITS POLICIES, THEN THE UNITED STATES
WILL ALSO HAVE CRITICISM HEAPED UPON IT.
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